DEMOCRATIC INCENDIARISM

WHAT NORTHERN COPPERHEADS HAVE DONE

FOR SOUTHERN TRAITORS.

THE Copperhead Democracy of the State of New York look forward to the ensuing election for an endorsement of the administration of Governor Seymour. We propose, in a few plain words, to show why they ought to be disappointed. It is well known that the last election in this State was carried by false pretenses; that Governor Seymour and his allies, in order to secure the success of the Democratic candidates, professed to be in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and promised to afford the General Government, in the event of their success, all the aid in their power for the suppression of the Rebellion.

Disheartened by defeats in the field, misled by false friends, and relying upon the solemn promises which the Democratic candidate for Governor had repeatedly and publicly made, a sufficient number of patriotic voters were induced to yield him their support; and thus his election was secured by a small majority. No sooner was he installed in office, however, than he arraigns the Administration of Mr. Lincoln for alleged high misdemeanors, and otherwise sought to destroy public confidence in our national authorities. To such lengths did he carry this hostility, that the rebel leaders at Richmond recognized the value of his services to their cause, and commended him accordingly.

Instead of using the influence of his high position to further the efforts of the General Government in pushing on the war, he so shaped his course as to most seriously embarrass the Administration, thus violating the pledges by which he gained his election, and adding open perjury to covert treason. By fomenting a riotous and disaffected spirit, in opposition to the Draft, he aided to drench the streets of New York, Troy, Buffalo, and other cities, with the blood of innocent persons; to destroy the property of law-abiding citizens, and to bring our noble State to the verge of civil war; thus prolonging the war by raising the hopes of the rebels in their ultimate success, through Northern dissensions, and lowering our character as a civilized community in the eyes of every nation in Christendom.

We charge that, by his speeches and Messages; by his sympathy with the revolutionary scenes in the Assembly Chamber, prior to the organization of the House; by his hot haste to oust the Police Commissioners in favor of pliant tools of his own; by his attempt to make a partisan machine of our State Militia; by his resistance to a binding law of Congress, on the plea of its unconstitutionality, as though *he* were the judge as well as the executive authority, and by his refusal to aid in carrying it into execution, Horatio Seymour is responsible for the scenes of savagery which reddened the sky and crimsoned the

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

streets of the proud Empire City, with murder, arson, robbery, and all the untold horrors of that bloody week of devastation and death.

In the course of this pamphlet we shall make manifest to the meanest comprehension the fact that the so-called Democratic party, with Governor Seymour at their head, have labored, and are laboring, in the press, and in the forum, to aid their rebel traitor friends in Richmond, by arraying our State in virtual unity with the Southern Confederacy against the United States Government; by resisting the Draft; by aiding in its evasion, and by a thousand other acts of practical hostility too patent to require to be pointed out.

And when we have demonstrated the disloyalty of the remnant of the party which now lays claim to the Democratic title, we confidently expect that the War Democrats, if any there be who yet remain outside of the Union organization, will at once range themselves on the side of the Government, along with those patriotic leaders, Dickinson, Dix, Butler, Burnside, Holt, Johnson, Rosecrans, Logan, Grant, and a host of others, whose white plumes have so often led them forth to victory.

On the 4th day of July, 1863, just nine days before the bloody outbreak in New York, on the anniversary of our National Independence, when Meade was wresting victory from the invading army of Virginia; when Grant was entering Vicksburg a conqueror, with tens of thousands of prisoners, nearly three hundred cannon, and untold military stores, as the trophies of Union prowess; when a little band of black men at Helena beat back, with terrific slaughter, the Arkansas and Texan hordes of Price, Marmaduke, and Holmes, and crowned the country with historic laurels, this "loyal" Governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, could stand up in the great Academy of Music, before a vast assemblage of his "Democratic" followers, and with malignant, snaky, sparkle in his eye, strike at the hand which held black Treason by the throat, lest its too vigorous grasp should strangle the monster beyond the power of even copperhead resuscitation. Hear him:

"But, my Republican friends, * * * remember this, that the bloody, and "treasonable, and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity *can be proclaimed by a* Mob as "well as by Government."

That speech was designed to fire the slumbering passions of the mob, already excited to the pitch of desperation, by the artful misrepresentation and falsehoods of copperhead journals, and Confederate advocates in disguise. On the night before that 4th of July, when the city militia regiments were away, fighting Lee in Pennsylvania, and the metropolis comparatively defenceless, the following traitorous manifesto was posted in all parts of the city, to aid in the revolutionary work. But the morning brought tidings of our glorious successes against the braver rebels in arms, and for very shame these sneaking secessionists dared not do the deed which they had darkly conspired to accomplish:

FREEMEN, AWAKE!

DECLARATION AND PROTEST OF LIBERTY AGAINST USURPATION AND TYRANNY.

"Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

First. The only solid foundation for all government is the consent of the governed. Governments exist for the benefit of the people, and not the people for the benefit of governments.

A government which fails to promote the interests, and secure the affections of its people, does not deserve to stand.

These principles are the foundation of the Federal Union; to deny them is to undermine our own political structure, to slander the title by which we have a place among the nations of the earth.

Second. The people of the Southern States have, of their own consent, established a separate government, sustained it for more than two years with remarkable unanimity and devotion, under circumstances of great difficulty and trial.

We cannot consistently with our traditions and our principles, deny to that people the right of self-government, or oppose by force the existence of the government they have set up. If we cannot conquer them by the arts and arms of peace, we have no right to conquer them at all.

To speak of a "Union" by force is simply absurd; a piece of Puritanical hypocrisy.

Third. The glory of a nation is: To establish justice, unity, peace, and concord; to insure domestic tranquillity; to promote the general welfare; to secure the blessings of liberty and civilization; to cultivate the highest standards of morals and religion.

Territorial possessions may distract and weaken; wealth will enervate and corrupt; avarice, fanaticism, and revenge, must debase; and ambition generally destroys.

Fourth. When the present Administration was elected to office, among all the nations of the earth there was not one greater than the United States of

973.71
D396

America; not one more prosperous and happy; not one which conferred superior blessings on mankind. The people were proud of their Government, and loved it; they would not have exchanged it for any other on the face of the globe; they hoped to transmit the jewel, with untarnished lustre, to remotest generations.

Fifth. Within the last two years, this Government has suffered a grievous change, a most disastrous and humiliating eclipse. It has become a filthy hybrid; a monster, smeared with the bloody sacrifice of its own children; a detestable compound of crimes and vices; a despotism which cannot fitly be described in decorous language; "the sum of all villainies;" a league with hell and a covenant with death.

The Administration is ignorant, conceited, and vulgar; cunning, insincere, and unscrupulous; fierce, sanguinary, and cruel; full of all subtlety and all mischief; of all hypocrisy and deceit. It is without truth or honesty, without manliness or decency. Its avarice is insatiable; its corruption unbounded; for gain it will do anything, however infamous, oppressive, and wasteful, and does not scruple to barter the whole country for profit. It is a bully, a braggart, and a coward; it domineers by terror over weakness; it shrinks from truth and daylight; it deals in pimps, spies, and informers, and fears an enemy in every shadow. With bands of armed men it strikes down the liberty of the citizen at the dead of night, when he is surprised, solitary and defenseless; wages war on women and young children.

It is barbarous and wanton, for it desolates peaceful and inoffensive lands with fire and flood; it destroys cities, towns, villages, and solitary dwellings; it plunders wherever its emissaries prowl, destroying what cannot be taken away. It does not spare the sacred monuments of art, science, and literature; respects not the grave; has no pity for the shrieks and entreaties of helplessness and purity, and the instruments of its crimes are only less detestable than the crimes themselves, and the criminal.

In everything, and in the most stupendous proportions, is this Administration abominable: the stench thereof rises towards Heaven, as the stench of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is a foe to all goodness, and whosoever should destroy it, would confer a blessing on mankind.

Sixth. The Southern people are fighting for our liberties as well as for their own. No greater calamity could happen to us, than their overthrow; the destruction of the one, would speedily be followed by the subjugation of the other.

Seventh. Should the Confederate army capture Washington, and exterminate the herd of thieves, Pharisees, and cut-throats which pasture there, defiling the temple of our liberty, we should regard it as a special interposition of Divine Providence, in behalf of justice, judgment, and mercy.

Eighth. No portion of this Union is entitled to public sympathy or assistance or protection from Southern defensive invasion, so long as it continues to be a party to the present aggressive war. There cannot be innocent accomplices in crimes at which humanity stands aghast.

Ninth. "The thirty pieces of silver," the price of blood and the general ruin, is not entitled to protection. Let those who have grown fat on the misfortunes of the land defend their own plunder, fight a little, steal, and bellow less.

Tenth. So long as the present war continues and despotism prevails, we shall have no disposition to oppose a Confederate army, whether on our borders or in our midst—rather would we hail them as friends and deliverers.

Eleventh. We arraign Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and the men of his council, before the bar of public opinion and National justice, for the following high crimes, felonies, and misdemeanors:

For the country they have betrayed; for the oaths they have violated; for the Constitution they have trampled under foot; for the laws they have perverted or annulled; for the power they have abused and usurped; for the Union they have destroyed; for the precious hopes they have blasted; for the liberties they have taken away; for the rivers of blood they have shed; for the armies they have slaughtered; for the manifold, excessive and wide-spread defraudings, robberies, plunderings, desolations, wastes, and cruelties they have perpetrated.

We arraign them for converting this once great, prosperous, free and happy land into a land of discord, strife and despotism—of ruin, misery, and shame.

Twelfth. These pernicious criminals we propose to try by authority of all the laws their despotism has left us, by that very law of necessity and self-preservation which they maliciously, traitorously, and falsely have invoked, promulgated, and enforced. And we shall appeal for justice to that universal sentiment which passes judgment on all such as are enemies to the human race.

Thirteenth. Fellow-citizens, in the name of the Thirteen Colonies, we say to you—"*Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.*" SPIRIT OF '76.

JULY 4, 1863.

When, in obedience to Seymour's suggestion, the mob soon after made its "proclamation," writing it in letters of blood, this Governor of the Empire State, called to exercise his executive authority in the suppression of the insurrection, showed his sympathy with the desperate ruffians who composed the mob, by calling them his "friends," and *offering to be their "leader."*

Yes, according to the report in the New York *Express* (copperhead) of July 14, 1863, the second day of the riot, he addressed a howling mob of ten or twelve thousand, from the City Hall steps, in these terms:

SEYMOUR'S SPEECH TO THE RIOTERS.

The Governor said that he came here in haste, having heard of existing trouble. He regretted that this great city was so disturbed. ["They've forced it upon us, Governor."] Let them go peacefully to their homes. ["No," "no," "yes."] *He would be their leader.* [Tremendous cheering, one stout fellow almost squeezing the Governor to death in his enthusiasm.]

The *Tribune* more fully reports the same speech, thus:

MY FRIENDS—I have come down here from the quiet of the country to see what was the difficulty, to learn what all this trouble was concerning the Draft. Let me assure you that *I am your friend.* [Uproarious cheering.] *You have been my friends.* [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," "That's so."—"We are, and will be again"]—and now I assure you, my fellow-citizens, that I am here to show you a test of my friendship. [Cheers.] I wish to inform you that I have sent my Adjutant-General to Washington to confer with the authorities there, and to have this draft suspended and stopped, &c., &c.

What a spectacle for men and angels! The Governor of the great State of New York fraternizing with cut-throats, highwaymen, house-thieves, and all the foul scum that in times of civil commotion rise from the depths of social degradation to the seething surface of society; perpetrators of crimes that shock the humanity of the 19th century; crimes that would make a Sepoy or a Western Savage shudder at the contemplation—calling them, his "friends," and telling them that in obedience to their bloody behests, he had sent his Adjutant-General to bully the Administration into stopping the Draft. Verily, Jeff. Davis, could have asked for

no better service than "the left wing of Lee's army" in New York, under the leadership of General Horatio Seymour, that week rendered to the Confederate cause. It almost compensated for the sacrifices at Gettysburgh. Such a fire in the rear, the Richmond Junta thought must surely prove fatal to the Federal arms.

The complicity of Governor Seymour with the rioters is further shown in his correspondence with General Dix, in which he refuses to reply directly to the question of the latter, as to whether he will use the State troops for the enforcement of the Draft, if necessary, but virtually avers that he will not. This is his answer:

"As you state in your letter that it is your duty to enforce the act of Congress, and as you apprehend its provisions may excite popular resistance, it is proposed you should know the position which will be held by the State authorities. Of course, *under no circumstances, can they perform duties expressly confided to others;* nor can they undertake to relieve others from their proper responsibilities."

The animus of Governor Seymour is still further exhibited by the following statement from the *New York News*, a journal supporting him, and owned and edited by a Democratic Member of the last and the ensuing United States Congress:

"Gov. SEYMOUR has *pledged his sacred word and honor*, and the people of New York trust in him and believe him, that *not one single drafted citizen shall be forced away from the State until the constitutionality of the Conscription Act shall have been decided in our Courts.* He is virtually pledged to do as the Express says: *to call forth the entire militia force of New York*, to resist the kidnapping, which Abolitionist howlers tell us is inevitable, and we entertain no doubt that he will keep his word."

From the head of the Democratic party in this State, let us pass to one who stands still higher as an exponent of Democratic policy.

FROM EX-PRESIDENT PIERCE'S LETTER TO JEFFERSON DAVIS, FOUND AMONG THE LATTER'S PAPERS CAPTURED IN MISSISSIPPI:

CLARENDON HOTEL, NEW YORK,
Jan. 6, 1860.

* * * * *

"Without discussing the question of right—of abstract power to secede, I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without blood; and if, through the madness of Northern Abolitionists, that dire calamity must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line, merely. It will be *within our own borders, in our own streets*, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred. Those who defy law and scout Constitutional obligation, will, if we ever reach the arbitrament of arms, *find occupation enough at home.*"

EX-PRESIDENT PIERCE'S

SPEECH AT CONCORD, N. H., JULY 4, 1863.

There is no longer doubt as to where the responsibility for those unconstitutional acts of the last two years, perpetrated by subordinate officers of the Federal Government, both civil and military, properly attaches; but who, I ask, has clothed the President with power to dictate to any one of us when we must or when we may speak, or be silent a pon any subject, and especially in relation to the conduct of any public servant? [Laughter and cheers.] By what right does he presume to prescribe forumula of language for your lips or mine? It seems incredible, and even with this authenticated papers before us, is amazing, that any such sentiment should have found utterance from the elected representative of a free Government like that of the United States. My friends, let those obey such behests who will; *you and I have been nurtured here among the granite hills, and under the clear skies of New Hampshire, into no such servile temperament.*

From these magnates, we descend to lesser lights of the party, but still those who speak for it as recognized leaders.

FROM J. A. MACMASTER'S SPEECH AT THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN UNION SQUARE, MAY 18, 1863.

The question is about the liberty of the people of the North. ["That's it."] The question is whether the Federal power, defeated and hurled back by the freemen of the South, is not going to try whether they might not make an easier conquest by putting their yoke on your necks. [Voices—"Never."] I tell you it is not by shouting "never;" it is not by cheering and groaning; it is by the brawny muscle, and, above all, it is by the determined will of freemen born, who are ready to say that they will die now if necessary—[applause] that they will die sooner than yield. But, freemen, how are you to save your liberties? [A Voice—"*By fighting.*"] *Yes, if necessary, by fighting*, but not by disorderly fighting, not by street mobs, not by riots, not by incendiarism, that you are to achieve your liberties. If you have pun shed those who have first wronged you, there will be others with different names to take their place; but your way is to organize as freemen—to organize in your Wards. If your Ward is too large, organize in companies by tens and hundreds. Then organize regiments, and send to your Governor and ask him for commissions. This is the right that the Federal usurpation of power has attempted to infringe in Ohio and Indiana, the right of bearing arms. It is the sacred and inalienable right of the freemen of America. It is written in the Constitution of the United States; it is written in the Constitution of each State—that the people shall have the right to keep and to bear arms for the defense of themselves and not of the Union—but of the State. [Tremendous applause.] It is the right of the militia, not of the regular army—it is the right of ourselves as militiamen to keep and to bear arms. ["Hear, hear, bravo."] If you have not got them, get them, and prepare yourselves orderly and firmly to preserve under your gallant and worthy Governor *the liberties of this State and this nation.* [Great applause.]

At the same meeting R. S. THARIN, of Alabama said:

Fellow-citizens—I have come here to-night expressly to denounce the Administration, and if there is any man in this wide continent who has earned that right he now stands before you. When I first came from the republic of Alabama, I found the American flag waving in the streets of Cincinnati and in the streets of New York, and I thought the promises of Abraham Lincoln were to be carried out, but they have not, and I detest his very name for the power he has tried to assume over free men. As our rights are lost I do not ask you to save them, but I ask you to redeem the rights which have come down through fields of blood from our forefathers. I will say to Abraham Lincoln, "I impeach thee in the name of liberty, and I impeach thee in the name of Washington, whose chair thou has polluted. I impeach thee in the name of the citizens of New York, and execrate thee in the nameof Clement L. Vallandigham. (Cheers.) Fellow-citizens, there are various ways of expressing public sentiments. One is by saying, and another is by acting. [Cheers.] And, now, my fellow-citizens, *I call upon you to act.* [Cheers.]

At the same meeting, Judge MCCUNN said:

In eighteen months this country will be too hot for the men who are now hounding and hunting out those who advocate the liberty of free speech and a free press.

At the same meeting the *New York News* reports Mr. BLANKMAN as saying:

That he hoped to God that when Vallandigham was to be conveyed to Fort Warren that some of Mr. Lincoln's minions and hirelings would bring him into the city of New York, on his way to Fort Warren. He says "I would issue my writ of habeas corpus, and get Judge McCunn to indorse it, and I'll be d—d if he would not be liberated then."

At the same meeting, the Hon. W. B. RANKIN said:

We say to these gentlemen, beware. Be careful what you do. Make no other effort to stifle us in the expression of our opinion, for if you do, against you yourselves *may be raised the bloody hand* that shall hurl you from the power you have so misused.

FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD.

May 22, 1863.

At the meeting in Union square the other day * * * * McMasters *appealed directly to* PHYSICAL FORCE AND ARMS *to resist the administration*. Mr. Blankman said that, Julius Cæsar had his Brutus, and Charles the I. his Cromwell, and *counseled resistance* TO THE DRAFT on the ground of the war being unconstitutional * * * Mr. Van Loon appealed *to their strong* ARM to protect their rights in the last extremity.

HON. D. W. VOORHEES, OF INDIANA, JULY 4, 1863, AT CONCORD, N. H.

From this spot, and on this holy day set apart in the calendar of time to the cause of liberty, I would solemly warn the Executive and his advisers, in candor and not in malice, *that civil war has but just commenced in this unhappy country* if they continue to pursue their present career of license and usurpation.

CHAUNCEY BURR AT THE MASS MEETING AT RIVERHEAD, L. I., JUNE 30, 1863.

More than one King of England has lost his head for less crimes than Abraham Lincoln has committed. * * * *Death is his doom*, as much as it was old John Brown's in Virginia.

July 11, 1863.

THE INSURRECTIONARY DEMONSTRATION IN THE TWENTIETH WARD.

The speech of Chauncey C. Burr, and its reception at the [Democratic] meeting in the Twentieth Ward, on Thursday evening, is calculated to stir up a *mob-like spirit in this city*. If Mr. Burr is not careful he will *raise a storm that will terminate in insurrection and bloody scenes in this city*. When this mob spirit is once started, no person can tell where it will end, or who will be sacrificed by its vengeance. Whilst Mr. Burr *poured out his invective, counseled resistance to our National Authorities*, and appealed to the beastly passions of the assemblage, he still declared he was a democrat, and would have us understand that he is one of the leaders. But his speech was anything but democratic in tone, and shows great lack of statesmanship in the leaders of the democratic party in this city, in allowing such blustering men as Burr to assume to set themselves up as leaders of the party in a crisis like the present.

From the utterances of Democratic leaders we go to the statements of the Democratic press.

FROM THE NEW YORK EXPRESS.

July 13, 1863.

"The Government," as Mr. Lincoln is called—so we understand the *Tribune*—means, as soon as Lee is thoroughly routed, to send on the army here, to enforce these instructions of Provost Marshal Nugent! If this be so, *there is no human arm that can avert civil war and revolution in the State of New York.* * * * * * * * * * * *

Now, every man sees, who is not a Bourbon, or who is not lifted up too far above the 700,000 workingmen in this city (including their wives and children), that 100,000 men with $300 in their pockets cannot enforce the $300 clause against the 700,000, *without oceans of blood being spilt here, and arson and burglaries, and assassinations, all too horrible to think of.* * * * * * * * * * * *

It is not just. It is the hardest, harshest conscription act we ever read. Such another act scarcely exists on the face of the earth *No people but the French people ever submitted to anything like it.*

July 14, 1863.

The Radicals, however, insisted upon an immediate conscription, and selected Saturday to begin it, as if to enable the working classes, all day Sunday, in their leisure, to ponder upon the $300 clause, and to talk it over with their affrighted wives and children. * * * * * * * * * * * *

Only Geslers and Bombas commit such follies as these Radicals commit, and are now urging President Lincoln to commit.

July 16, 1863.

God abhors, must abhor an "Act" which, while it drags down all classes of labor to the fearful futurity of a conscription, excepts the better-off men, to whom even $300 may be nothing. * * * * But if, as the *Times* and the *Tribune* ADVOCATE, both State as well as Federal Constitutions are to be overridden, this mob will certainly end in revolution.

The "TRIBUNE" tells us, in the vein of the "TIMES," that the Conscription will not—*must* not be suspended. * * * There is no misunderstanding this. It is plain as the nose on one's face, and it foreshadows a dark, dreary future, in which, if persisted, what was the history of France under the Bourbons, and the history of England under the Charles', will be the history of the United States.

July 18, 1863.

The fresh order for the Conscription to go on—with the threat to strip Meade's army of its soldiers, if necessary, to enforce the Draft here in New York, attracts attention and creates excitement—but the people here are yet incredulous as to the declared intention of the President to usurp the Government of this city and of the State.

FROM THE NEW YORK WORLD.

July 11, 1863.

A MYSTERIOUS DRAFT.

The Draft, which commences in this city to-day, and which is about to be enforced all over the North, promises to be a very mysterious business. * * * This is really a serious matter, and in the absence of any official announcement by the Government, of the number of men it requires, how do we know but what the secret instructions of the provost-marshals are, to conscript heavily in the Democratic districts and slightly in the Republican districts?

July 16, 1863.

* * * * The mob which has shaken society to its centre in this great city, derives its origin, and draws its main power from the fact that the masses of the people in New York—the men whose brothers, and kinsmen, and fellows, by the hundred and the thousand, are now fighting the battles of their country in the face of the rebel enemy—have been stung by the madness, and irritated by the chicanery of the Administration, into believing that they were about to be torn from their homes by a conscription, *at ke novel and odious in principle, and unequal and unjust to the poor in its form.*

July 20.

* * * * * * * *

For it is impossible to conceal such a glaring and simple fact as this, that the Conscription has caused riots, that nothing else has caused them, *and that its enforcement will cause new riots.*

* * * * * * * *

We repeat, the Conscription caused the late riots. The riot here caused riots elsewhere. A renewal of the cause must be expected to renew the effect.

What peril further riots may bring, the past has foreshadowed and taught us. But no man can foresee or adequately paint the peril, and, as we believe, the doom and death to all that American freemen hold dear, of home, of liberty, of peace, of government, of political structures, of social ties, if upon the heels of conscription follow riots, if upon riots follows martial law. God knows what the future hides. We turn our eyes from the revelation of that civil strife into which martial law, to enforce the conscription, will lead a loyal people. Not States alone belligerent, but cities, towns, villages, the peaceful firesides of the East, the populous prairies of the West, rent with discord and drenched in fraternal blood, and then the end.

July 21, 1863.

There is a feeling in the community that this Administration is revolutionary, that it has attempted to set itself above the Constitution, and that it intends to support its right to do so by the sword.

July 21, 1863.

* * * * Whatever resistance has been, or may be, offered by Irish or by any other citizens of the United States to the "acts of our rulers," has been challenged by the haughty and defiant denial of these fundamental principles on the part of the Administration and the party for which they speak. They have overridden the law so openly and so often, they have flung it aside so contemptuously, that they alone are responsible, and will by history be held responsible, for the passion of a people maddened by the lawlessness of power into the lawless assertion of liberty.

July 22, 1863

SHOULD THE DRAFT GO ON?

If the people were the subjects of King Abraham, and therefore bound to obey him, or this country a despotism like France, we could understand the force of this reasoning; but this is a free country; the consent of the governed is understood to be the condition upon which all power is administered. Now, if Congress passes a law the enforcement of which is so onerous that it creates disorder, riot, shakes in fact the very foundations of society, it is clear that it is not a wise or just law, and if its enforcement is within the President's discretion it would be wisdom in him not to press it upon a reluctant or hostile country.

July 23, 1863.

* * * * * * * *

A law which is an enormous innovation; which is felt to be oppressive by the whole body of the people; which as neither precedent to support it, nor analogy to lend it countenance in the past legislation of Congress; which, if unconstitutional, is no law at all; and against the constitutionality of which there exist such strong presumptions, ought not to be pushed to a bloody enforcement until the courts have had an opportunity to pass upon its validity

July 31, 1863.

* * * * * * * *

The Conscription act now being put in operation is another and an entirely different thing. It ignores State officers, State intervention, State authority, and State laws. It is believed by the best legal minds in the country to be unconstitional. In its execution the grossest injustice is being done to this State, whose quotas already furnished are underrated, and whose quotas to be furnished are overrated. The grossest injustice, too, is being done to this city and other localities where Democrats are in a majority. The Administration has remembered to forget no aggravation of its natural har ships, and its organs have omitted no irritation by which it might be rendered disgusting and onerous to a free people.

FROM THE NEW YORK NEWS.

May 22, 1863.

NO PARLEYING WITH DESPOTISM.

* * * * * * * *

Perhaps the gleam of five hundred thousand bayonets may cause them for a moment to close their eyes, accustomed to no more dazzling instruments of justice than the judicial parchment. But it is not in the nature of freemen to count the odds, when tyranny confronts them. If they have hesitated to strike down the sceptre at the instant of its uplifting, *let their present action prove that it was but the panther's pause, preparing for the decisive spring.*

* * * * * * * *

The minions of power have exhibited an audacity and daring equaled only by their disregard of justice; the people must emulate their boldness, and meet their effrontery with a loftier courage. Why should they tolerate for one instant, the interference of the soldiery, of whatever grade, with the strict course of civil adjudication?

May 26, 1863.

THE STRENGTH OF DESPOTISM AND THE WEAKNESS OF THE PEOPLE.

Despotism, at the present moment, is strong, and Liberty is weak. The telegraph is in the hands of Government officers; the Post-office is no longer inviolate; free speech is a by-word; Government bastiles are crammed to overflowing with innocent victims; a Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States openly proclaims that the sole pleasure of the President is the law of the land for every individual; and security for life and property have long since passed away. Tyranny is all-powerful, and the voice of the people is small; *but if the subterranean political heavings under our feet are to be trusted, a moment is approaching when the great popular masses will throw off the oppression which has so long weighed them in the dust.*

May 29, 1863.

Apathy under Government encroachment is the attribute of every people, until the goad strikes so keenly and the lash falls so heavily that the sufferer throws all his energy into sudden and violent resistance. It is only the highest degree of intellectual development that will sternly dispute the first insidious approach of tyranny. It is soon to be decided whether the people of the North have attained that point of enlightenment.

July 11, 1863.

THE CONSCRIPTION.

After long hesitation, and several abortive attempts, the Administration seems to have decided to enforce the Conscription Act. Like the Proclamation of Emancipation, it is an experiment novel and antagonistic to the spirit of our institutions. Like the Proclamation, it is unpopular with the masses, and will, probably, result in most unpleasant consequences. *There is a lurking mischief in the atmosphere that surrounds this unwelcome stranger as it now prepares to make its forcible entry across our thresholds. There are symptoms of a wide-spread inclination to extend to it a harsh greeting, and to meet its intrusion with somewhat more than passive indignation.* * * *

July 14, 1863.

THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD STOP THE DRAFT.

The experiment of Conscription has been tried in this Metropolis, and the result is what the Administration might have anticipated, had their perceptions not been blunted by fanaticism, and familiarity with error. The principle of constrained military service in a Republic is in itself sufficiently odious and unrepublican to have aroused the opposition of the masses; but that provision of the Act which creates a distinction between the rich and the poor was too much for human nature to endure. It foreshadowed so distinctly a design to establish a military despotism that the instincts of the people took alarm immediately, and the first attempt to enforce the absurd law in this city was the signal for a general uprising of the working classes.

We have had fearful experience of the results of the coercive policy in the South; let not fanaticism dare to provoke the terrors of civil strife in the North. If martial law in the present condition of intense excitement, should be proclaimed in New York city, a Major-General's command will not suffice to preserve even the outward signs of tranquillity. A collision between our citizens and the military will kindle a flame that the blood of thousands will not quench. The only means of stilling the rising storm, without inducing one yet more terrible, is by a proclamation that the Conscription Act will not be carried into effect.

OUR APPEAL TO THE POPULACE.

On Saturday, we said of the Conscription: "There is a lurking mischief in the atmosphere that surrounds this unwelcome stranger." Now, it no longer lurks: it reveals itself, it advances its bold front with violence and wrath, and swells into turbulence and riot.

In the hour of their anger and delirium, let us appeal to the manliness and better feeling of the working men. * * *

* * * If they have determined to resist the Conscription Act, let their resistance be that of men, the firm and effective opposition of those who are conscious of a just and righteous cause. * * * Die, if it need be, to defend your rights, but let there be no stigma upon the names of your fraternity, and let no history hereafter recount of your deeds, that your children will blush to read.

July 15, 1863.

THE PRESIDENT HAS STOPPED THE DRAFT.

The draft will not be enforced. The official order to that effect has gone forth from Washington. The Conscription Act is dead, coffined, sepulchred beyond resurrection. Never more will its odious principles be thrust upon the citizens of this Republic. There is no longer any palliation for disorder and turbulence, and if you are men, you will disband at once, put aside your weapons and your wrath, and take up the implements of industry.

If you commit one act of violence after this, you deserve eternal ignominy, and you will receive the condemnation of the world. You have already gone so far that hereafter, in your calmer moments, you will wonder and repent that you could have exhibited such extremity of passion. Yet, if you pause immediately, your countrymen will forgive and forget your violence in view of the strong provocation you have suffered. The ministers of justice will overlook your trespasses, and your future peaceable behavior will atone for the brief period of your lawlessness.

* * * * * * * * *

We speak to you without hesitation, and with perfect frankness, for you cannot be ignorant that we are the friend of the workingman, and have always upheld the people's rights. The Conscription Act incited you to violence—the Conscription Act has been pronounced a nullity. That should end the matter. If you are worthy to be freemen, you will control your passions, and this day's sun will set upon a tranquil city.

July 16, 1863.

GOOD EFFECT OF STOPPING THE DRAFT.

As the tidings that the draft is suspended circulate among the disaffected populace, a better feeling prevails, and the working classes relinquish their unlawful purposes. None but thieves and plunderers persevere in provoking disturbance, and these will be speedily disposed of by the Municipal authorities. Let it be distinctly understood that, whatever further acts of violence may be perpetrated will be with the design of pillage. Those who continue to violate the peace of the city will *now* deserve to be treated, and will be treated, as outlaws and desperadoes, intent only upon mischief and rapine. The workingmen must be careful to separate themselves immediately from those ruffians who will still cling to the opportunity of indulging their vicious propensities. There is now no conscription to resist; *and therefore no possible justification of resistance.*

July 17, 1863.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY MUST BE VINDICATED.

We will venture to assert that Governor Seymour will protect every citizen of the State from constrained service in the Federal army. * * * * *They who insist upon the enforcement of the draft may draw their own conclusions.*

Same date.

THE DRAFT.

We publish a special dispatch from Washington, stating that Mr. Lincoln has expressed a determination to enforce the draft, notwithstanding the trouble in this city. We have not the heart to give credence to this statement. It seems impossible that Mr. Lincoln should be so cruel and unwise as to speak words that will conjure up a demon in the community. Should it be true, which Heaven forfend, *farewell tranquillity, until it be reclaimed with hecatombs of human sacrifices.*

July 21, 1863.

RESIST THE DRAFT, BUT OBEY THE LAW.

The horror that has been excited in the public mind by the outrages upon law and order, perpetrated during the first four days of last week, ought not to diminish with time, but should rather be kept alive as a perpetual warning for the future. On the other hand, however, no atrocities that have been committed should be allowed to divert the eyes of good citizens, for a single instant, from the monstrous, wholesale, diabolical tramp ling down by the Federal authorities of the rights of the people of this city. Were the skirts of the mob stained with murder? *So are those of our oppressors.* Do the cruel brutalities of some of the rioters deserve to be held up to eternal execration? Still more does the systematic, needless, wanton sport of the Washington Government, with the lives, liberties, and freedom of individuals. Is it to the shame, and disgrace of those who took part in the illegal proceedings of last week that they violated *law*, insulted and defied *law*, scouted the remedies to wrong that are provided by LAW? Far blacker, more hideous, detestable, unpardonable, is the guilt of an Administration which purposely cements the bulwarks of its despotism, by smiting down law, the guarantees of the Constitution, and the sovereignty of the States, whenever they interfere with their own odious pretensions.

July 23, 1863.

THE MADNESS AND DESIGNS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

Our rulers have closely adopted the Machiavelian maxim—"That in great affairs men are not to be wicked by halves." They intend to fill to the full the measure of their iniquity. They find that having waded in so far, "retr rning is as tedious as to go over." They fully intend now to carry out their designs upon popular liberty, and crush it under the mailed hand of a military despotism. They are fully aware that the triumph of the Democracy, so great have been their oppressions and persecutions, must necessarily involve their personal safety, and a fearful responsibility for the aw ul crimes they have committed. They are right in this, *for there will be no safe place on this side of the planet for these men who have prostituted their power to work such great wickedness, should the Democracy once obtain control of the Government.* To the Law, whose majesty they have violated, they will be made to answer before the people, whose rights of civil liberty they have so wantonly outraged. The pretext, that the Conscription Bill must be enfo ced, is only a pretext to strike terror with the mailed hand, and to concentrate military forces in different districts to overawe the people, and influence the decision of the ballot boxes, as has been done in Delaware and Maryland. It is, to-day, well understood in Washington, that the coming fall elections are to be controlled by the military forces of the Government; and if the State authorities attempt to resist the outrage, that the civil magistrates are to be pushed from their stools, and military provisional governors appointed in their stead. The same necessity which has been pleaded to give color to other outrages, will be urged in

justification of this last outrage; *and then if an indignant people do not rise as one man to overthrow the oppressor then a military despotism will rear its frightful crest above the ruins of what was once a free Republic.*

NEW YORK HERALD.

May 20, 1863.

The military precedent of Vallandigham's case must be abandoned, or the deeply-excited popular elements of New York *may be inflamed to the most fearful extremities of resistance.* The policy of General Burnside *means civil war in the North.*

July 21, 1863.

But while we fix the chief responsibility of the recent disturbances where it justly belongs, we do not absolve the copperhead journals and the politicians, *from Governor Seymour* down, of their share of the blame.

The copperhead papers should not have given occasion for the outbreak by harping upon and misrepresenting the conscription act for political effect.

July 28, 1863.

The factions headed by the *News* and *World* and Mozart Hall, * * * * fanned the flames, and with the Mozart Hall leaders, endeavored to bring about a conflict between the State and National Governments. These journals labored *to excite the people*, while the leaders of Mozart urged the Governor to take a stand for the State and against the Government.

July 29, 1863.

The feeling against the draft owes its origin to * * * *the diatribes of the Copperhead organs*, like the *News*, *World*, and *Express*. * * * Copperhead politicians * * * have been for months past laboring *to bring on a revolution in this city.*

July 31, 1863.

With their usual consistency, the copperhead organs, like the *World* and Albany *Argus*, urged Congress to pass a Conscription Act, applauded it after it was passed, and then turned around and assailed it most bitterly as soon as they thought they could make a little political capital by so doing. * * Had these copperhead organs followed the lead of the *Herald in steadily supporting the Conscription Act, after it became a law, no riots would have ensued.*

THE ALBANY ATLAS AND ARGUS.

The leading Democratic journal of the State, says:

The *Evening Journal* has published column after column of false statistics, and falser arguments, to show why the people of this State should submit *to an iniquitous and oppressive conscription*, such as has been put in force in no other State.

And again:

Governor Seymour deplored and deprecated the rage of party animosity which now divides the North, and which, if carried to a much further height, *threatens to bring about in the North a civil war, as disastrous as that of the sections which now rages between North and South.*

And again:

It has been reserved for America to offer another instance of a similar policy by breaking up State military organizations, and scattering the soldiers of one State among regiments raised in, and officered by, another. Why is this? *Is it designed to follow still further in the footsteps of Austria? Are our citizens to be sent under officers appointed by Abolitionist Governors, in company with black janizaries, to overawe the Legislatures of Indiana and Illinois, while the conscripts of those States are compelled to assist in the work of overawing us? Who can tell to what length of madness and tyranny this Administration will not go? This act* (the Conscript Bill) *is no less repugnant to the traditions of the American people in its details than in its general scope.* All are subjected to its oppressive burdens, the Judge, the Legislature, the clergyman, the pauper, the negro, all, in short, except the man *who can pay three hundred dollars.*

The following expressions of opinion, by representative Democrats, will exhibit still further the revolutionary spirit of the party:

A DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT CAUSE FOR REBELLION.

Here is another malignant specimen:

Mr. J. GLANCY JONES, Buchanan's Minister to Austria, in a speech to the Democracy, in mass meeting assembled, at the Yellow House, Amity township, Berks county, Pa., as recently as Saturday, Oct. 3, 1863, used these words: "*If we cannot carry the election this fall, then there is nothing left us but rebellion.*

Here is another malignant specimen:

"There, sir, is the DAMNABLE ABOLITIONIST who administers the Government. The people ought to RISE UP, AND BY PHYSICAL FORCE HURL HIM FROM THE CHAIR OF THE GOVERNMENT. In the eyes of God and men the people would be justified. THEY SHOULD do it; and I will go with them." —*Judge Pratt's Speech* in the Michigan Legislature, Febuary 12, 1863.

Here is another:

"We tell them (Congress) that a *Cromwell will rise in their midst* before they progress too far, who will bring their HEAD TO THE BLOCK without *delay or mercy.*"—*Detroit Free Press, March* 24, 1863.

Did our space permit, we might continue these examples to much greater length. But we have already given enough to show the infernal spirit of hostility to the Government entertained by the Copperhead Democracy. Does any one doubt that, if they dared, they would openly range themselves alongside of Jeff. Davis, and overthrow our free institutions, for the sake of place and power? Do not many of the bolder sort, like GLANCY JONES, yet mean to try the bullet, if the ballot fails?

FREEMEN OF NEW YORK, be yours the duty to rout this disloyal host so utterly at the coming election that they shall never dare again to rise in rebellion against the best Government the world has ever seen. Your sons, and brothers, now confronting the armed hosts of treason in the field, look to you to meet this fire in the rear, to put down these traitors at home. By your hopes of liberty and constitutional Government for yourselves and for your children, let not their appeal be in vain.